



Notebooks on Moroccan Sahara

Numéro : **14**

Tenth Anniversary of the Green March

Novembre 6th, 1985

Nouvelle édition

à l'occasion du 40ème anniversaire de la Marche Verte

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On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Green March

November 2015

ROYAL SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREEN MARCH



H.M. King Hassan II addressed the Moroccan people on November 6th, 1985 on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the green March, «Massira».

Following is the full-text of the Royal Speech :

« Praise be to God,

Prayers and grace be on the Prophet, His kin, and companions,

Dear people,

«Today we are celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Green March. Your «Massira» was indeed launched on the same day in 1975. On that day you trod your saharan soil, you met your brothers anew, and kneeled before God for the blessings he has bestowed on you. A few days later, you performed, on the beloved saharan soil, the solemn friday prayers in the mujahidines' manner.

These were historic signs perfectly clear in their deep affective significance no one of us could forget and which will remain engraved in the memory of everybody.

Morocco undertook this glorious march at a time when, thanks God most High,

audio-visual media were thriving in the country allowing those who did not have the privilege to personally participate to follow the event in their homes. The very young shared your ardent patriotic sentiments and remember your epic with fervor.

This gives us the best guarantee as to the future of the national patrimony bequeathed by our forefathers and which we, in turn, commit to our progeny's charge.

. The ten years elapsed since the Green March have been particularly active. They have been marked not by improvisation and impulses, but rather by endurance, active diplomacy, and an intelligent and far seeing policy. No hesitation has stained them.

Years of vigilance during which we were faced, both home and

abroad, with difficult choices. Thanks God, these years have been fruitful : there were years of epics, years of scrutiny and not trial, years of immense enthusiasm which made our welded wills converge for fulfillment of our common aspirations.

During this decade, we have resorted to all means to avoid military action and make reason, patience, dialogue, and neighbourliness prevail.

In spite of our goodwill, we have been compelled to engage action telling thus the world that to us dialogue could never be synonymous of weakness and wavering. The world found out, thanks God, that moroccan resources, the human potential in the first place, were considerable.

You have proved your ability to take action once your decisions made with the help of divine inspiration. Indeed, army and civilians, at all levels and in all surroundings and homes, gave their best to establish the truth that the moroccan people could accept all sorts of compromises except when it comes to its unity and its territorial integrity. Within a few years, we have secured at the military level utter control of the terrain.

We have recovered our Sahara thanks to our endurance and sacrifices, for the moroccan soldier has always been a source of our pride. On the terrain, we have operated with skill and methodology according ot a strategy taking into account the configuration of the desert, its climate, its vastness, and the tactics of a foe which cunningly avoids combats. Our control extended to the political field. We have frustrated the argumentation of our enemies and adversaries. Eversince 1981, intiatives have regularly come from the moroccan side. In 1981-82, Morocco decided to accept the referendum. In 1982, it defined with its african brothers modalities for the organization of the consultation. Since that time, we have had to face two surprises. A major surprise with adverse consequences,

not for us but rather for Africa : the OAU had not only denied its own charter, but it had also violated its fundamental principle forgetting that sowing division and encouraging separation in authentic Morocco would entail similar problems in other african countries. The OAU attitude also created a precedent : in this respect, a recent event in a non- aligned country which had recognized the mercenaries has corroborated this truth. In that country, one of the largest provinces now claims total independence. The lesson is that leaders should not adopt attitudes of this kind before due pondering and scrutiny in the unavoidable consequences they entail, and the precedents they help create.

The second surprise came with the OAU asking Morocco to negotiate directly with moroccans who went astray and rebelled against their country. Morocco will never take that path. Morocco and its sovereign have been to the school of Mohammed V, may his soul rest in peace. We still have in mind the day the french general-residence expressed the wish to discuss with Mohammed V the issues of autonomy and constitution. He firmly rejected any talks of that sort explaining, « I do not negotiate with the general residency. The general-resident is one of my ministers ». Under the protectorate, the general resident was the minister of defence and foreign affairs. The sovereign had explained, « I can hold talks with an equal only ».

This was the school we had beento. Consequently, how could we, who once refused to negotiate with the foreign power in charge of administration but not the sovereignty of Morocco, accept to sit around the same table and negotiate with straying and separatist moroccans ? Yet, we do not close doors to dialogue. We started talks with our neighbors at the level of both summit and emissaries. We have in fact displayed in this respect a maximum of flexibility.

But once it has become obvious that the earnest framework to imperatively encompass our discussions and talks was not respected by the other side, we saw it fit to freeze, not to break off, the dialogue

till the partner displays more earnest dispositions.

We have always said we accept the mediation of anybody who expresses the wish to mediate. We have immediately accepted the mediation of H.M. King Fahd of Saudi Arabia. We have suggested the holding of a summit on saudi territory, in the monarch's residence in Marbella.

We have always expressed our readiness, anytime, for discussions, reconciliation, and arbitration, being firmly convinced the substantiality of our file. The other side refused our offers.

Thus, whenever there has been an opportunity for one or several persons to be physical and eye-witnesses in a position to confront the moroccan thesis and those by others, dialogue failed to take place, the party concerned obstinately preferred a dialogue of two to be able to add and cut off and distort facts at ease.

At that point, we decided to put an end to these manoeuvres and the perplexity of international opinion and put our friends and allies at ease as to our stances and dispositions. We were planning to personally visit the United Nations and make our speech. But circumstances did not permit. We thought of sending the Crown Prince to represent us, but he was still recovering from a minor accident. It is M. Karim Lamrani, our Prime Minister, who read out our message to the United Nations.

There are two major elements in this message : firstly, we decide an immediate unilateral cease-fire, except in case of legitimate defence. Secondly, we expressed our readiness to organize as of the beginning of next year a referendum in our saharan territories and we asked the UNO Secretary General to take appropriate measures to this end with the assistance of regional organizations.

Why have we made these proposals to the United Nations ?

Simply because we deem that the OAU cannot be a judge and a party at the same time, for it has already made a decision when it accepted within its ranks the so-called republic. It has given up the role of impartial judge. We deem our stance to be sound and stemming from logic based on international law and usage.

Since then, obstacles have showed up such as the referendum would have no validity if the moroccan army and administration did not leave the Sahara. We had already heard this fable in Nairobi in 1981 and 1982. At that time, we explained our arguments which convinced our friends and perplexed our adversaries making it clear that it was not conceivable to withdraw the moroccan administration and army from the Sahara during the referendum.

Now, we hear anew of this fable at the UNO and we reply that there has never been a precedent in the matter and no referendum has ever been organized in a country in the absence of the existing apparatus entrusted with preserving the security and liberty of its inhabitants.

Even if we do not consider Morocco and the Sahara as a single entity, or even if we consider ourselves or are considered as a state which only administers the Sahara without exercising sovereignty, such a withdrawal would not be conceivable. There exists no example of an administrating power which withdraws its forces from the territory of the country it administers because of a referendum when it has the obligation to protect lives and property even during a referendum. Consequently, Morocco will by no means accept such a request and make a concession of this nature which would be irrational and contrary to relevant international jurisprudence.

Let us assume that Morocco yields on this issue, it would have to provide the inhabitants with the same weapons -artillery, missiles and various armaments-at the disposal of their adversaries. This would amount to igniting a civil war at the borders of three african

countries, Mauritania, Algeria, and Morocco in its former borders, not very far from the Canary Islands and Spain which plan to adhere to NATO, and the unavoidable consequences for Mali and Senegal which have common borders with Mauritania. If this is what the international community wants, we will oblige. They say they total 15 000 armed men. We will line up 100.000 with the same arms. We will then see how things develop. If the international community and its political instances want to extinguish the fire by rekindling it, let them shoulder their responsibility. I hope we will not get that far ... for we have had enough of unconstraint, absence of logic, and lack of clearsightedness.

Dear people,

On this glorious day, we who are your physician, are proud to give you a clean bill of health, a fact which, thanks God, invites more optimism.



As you remember, during our visit to our dear saharan provinces, a visit we all remember with deep emotion, we had told you our concern over national defence and the needs of the Sahara.

Last july 9, we announced you the launching of the national loan for the needs of the Sahara and defined the conditions. Even if it is unusual for a head of state to talk in this manner, we tell you : we have the honor to say that, thanks God, you have broken all records. We have made 165 billion centimes, physical persons - and this is of major importance -totalled 35 percent, the remaining part going to businesses and banks. This huge participation to the national loan administered the undisputable proof of your trust in the fate of the country, your currency, and your good health.

It is all the more remarkable because this loan came right after ther one launched last march and the holiday season. Indeed, people have extra expense during this season and prepare for more extra expenses on the occasion of the beginning of the academic year. In spite of all these facts, we have raised 165 billion centimes within less than three months. That is why we said it was an honor for us to announce it. This operation certifies to your good physical health. Those who fancy they have you exhausted and anaemic are deeply mistaken, and because they persist in their fancy, they will be mistaken for ever. Let them know that we have taken, out of deep conviction, the oath of the « Massira », an oath whereby all of us pitch in souls property, aspirations and martyrdom.

Dear people,

We would never have organized these epic festivities in celebration of the anniversary of the Green March without the heroism and daring of the moroccan soldier. He stands, as we have told you in Laayoune, for the new moroccan we have discovered at the confines of the Sahara. This new young moroccan deems the days he lives are a bonus, for he considers himself a martyr the very moment, he

has put on the uniform. This is the new breed of moroccan youth we have discovered with vivid emotion and unequalled pride.

Dear people,

You have to be aware that your march has been the greatest since the dawn of history. We have referred to history books before undertaking the Massira. Neither Alexander the Great, nor Gengis Khan, Attila, or Caesar ever mustered in a peaceful march 350.000 men.

You also have to know your march is unique. It was carried out without weapons. None of security agents, be it of the state police force of auxiliary forces, carried arms while accompanying marchers. This could clearly be seen on television screens.

There also was an extra burden - and not a slight one -which weighed on the march : the presence of women. No doubt, women must be present in such circumstances for the essential role they play in providing necessary encouragements to patriots. But they also, necessitate particular attention and consideration.

All these elements, dear people, are reason enough for you to be proud, without harm to your humility before God almighty, of your march from start to finish. You showed utter sense of discipline at the launching of the march as well as when your were asked to stop. The designer of your march was inspired by God almighty but it was you who undertook the march. You only carried on a march started more than 1400 years ago. This has been a fact ever since everlasting Morocco has incepted its march long before your birth, and will endure till the end of times standing for might, confidence, sense of sacrifice, dialogue, respect for order, for the interlocutor and for the self, bravery, honour and great dignity.

God bestowed these qualities on you. We address him our prayers

to have them maintained. We are convinced you will remain faithful to yourself as long as you are in direct contact with the undying image of your glorious past, the guarantee of your radiant, prosperous, and happy future.

ADDRESS OF H.M. KING HASSAN II BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION

H.M. Hassan II addressed a speech to the United Nations General Assembly on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the international organization. The Royal Speech was read out, on behalf of the Sovereign, by Prime Minister Mohamed Karim Lamrani on Wednesday October 23rd, 1985.

In His Speech, H.M. The King made some useful clarifications regarding a vital issue for the Kingdom of Morocco and made two commitments. The first relates to the cease-fire which Morocco has unilaterally decided to put into effect, and which it would call off only in case of aggression against the territories under its responsibility.

The second commitment relates to Morocco's predisposition to hold, under the auspices of and control of the United Nations, a referendum in the Sahara in the early part of January 1986.

Following is the full text of the Royal Speech :

Praise be to Allah ! May He grant His Messenger, the Messenger's People and Companions His Blessings and Salvation !

Mr. Chairman,

Mr. Secretary-General,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

A little over two years ago, I have had the honour of addressing you, on behalf of my country, the kingdom of Morocco, in a

message dealing with some problems which were preoccupying the international opinion.



M. Mohamed Karim Lamrani, the Prime Minister

Today, I am particularly happy to have, once more the opportunity to address you on behalf of my country and my people. Hopefully, my message will bring some useful clarifications on an issue which is so vitally important for my country, so that you may be amply informed of the various phases of the issue and the way in which it has evolved with time.

It is also my hope that the proposition contained in my message will efficiently contribute to the settlement of this question, by bringing a just and final solution. This question which will be the central theme of my message is, as you would be able to tell, nothing but that which has become known as «the western Sahara question».

For the sake of better clarification, I find it necessary to recall some undeniable truths about the problem.

The kingdom of Morocco which, as recognized by international conventions and treaties, was an independent state with full sovereignty over its entire territory until, all of a sudden, it fell prey to the covetousness of colonialism and became the object of utter dismemberment. Divided up into several zones of influence — French, Spanish and International —, it had to suffer the ill — fate of tutelage, domination and occupation for a rather long period.

When, after the long and painful struggle of its Monarch and People, Morocco recovered its sovereignty, it eagerly hastened to achieve the reunification of all its parts by opening up negotiations with the occupying powers. Thus was it able, in the first stage, to recover the French and the Spanish Zones, along with the International Zone of Tangier. However, in the North as well as in the South, other parts continued to live under foreign domination. To recover them, negotiations have been carried out with our neighbour, Spain, leading to the return of Tarfaya in 1958.

As to Sidi Ifni, Saguiaat El-Hamra and Wad-Eddahab which the Spanish Government refused obstinately to return, we were forced to resort to the United Nations, asking that the necessary measures be taken to put an end to colonial rule in those parts..

Eleven years after the recovery of the Tarfaya Province, Spain, by an act of Goodwill and understanding, returned Sidi-Ifni. However, she persisted in her occupation of Saguiaat El-Hamra and Wad-Eddahab - the two provinces which make up what is known as «Western Sahara».

In reaction to the machinations which endangered our rights and interfered with the efforts we were making to safeguard them, we requested of the United Nations that the dispute be brought before the International Court of justice. Recognizing the legitimacy of our request, the United Nations referred the case to the International Court of justice, asking for a consultative opinion on clear and specific questions.

The International Court of Justice then disclosed its opinion, recognizing the existence of judicial links between Morocco and the Sahara, as well as ties of allegiance between the Saharan tribes and the king of Morocco.

Thus, after a long period of patience and perseverance, we have been able to recover parts of our territory through peaceful means, giving preference to negotiations and dialogue.

It should be pointed out here that, as Morocco was earnestly pursuing the means of negotiations with a view to liberating the parts usurped by colonialism, the opponents of our territorial integrity were out of the scene and had no say whatsoever at the international level.

After reaching our goal, we believed that a new era lay before us and that we could confidently, take the road of reconstruction and development. Unfortunately, not pleased with the success of our efforts in recovering the parts of our territory usurped by colonialism, the opponents of our territorial integrity waged all sorts of hostilities against us, launching constant aggressions in which they used heavy armament and sophisticated weapons and, at the same time, engaging in violent attacks within all the international spheres where they looked for supporters for their misleading and false theories. By so doing, they sought to divert us from the aim we had assigned ourselves, namely that of ensuring the enhancement and progress of the recovered Saharan Provinces.

In this state of constant and various aggressions, our neighbour, Algeria, played a major role, putting her land, along with financial anti military facilities, at the disposal of our aggressors whom she hail armed and trained to fight with her own weapons, ignoring thus the links of neighbour-hood with Morocco and the obligations and norms such a relation ought to entail.

In the face of this outrageous aggression carried out on several fronts, Morocco limited its action, on one hand to the defence of its territory against attacks of which it was the target and, on the other hand, to warding off the effects of misleading acts, untruths and false allegations. In spite of all the harm caused, Morocco chose to avoid all that could bring about an escalation or make the crisis still more serious. Instead, it gave proof upon of its sincere adherence to the principles of dialogue and peaceful means, and its dedication to the cause of Peace.

Because of Morocco's eagerness to preserve Africa's present and future, and in response to the wishes expressed to me by some African, Arab and European Heads of state - friends of Morocco I have, on behalf of my country, taken a decisive step forward, with a view to putting an end to the tension in Northwest Africa, proving thus Morocco's willingness and firm determination to see peace and security reinstalled in the region. I am referring to the initiative.

I took at the 1981 African Summit held in Nairobi where on behalf of Morocco and through its highest Office, I announced the acceptance of the organization of a self-determination referendum in the Western Sahara.

Receiving the proposition with unanimous approval, the Summit immediately appointed an Implementation Committee consisting of Heads of State and whose task was to define the necessary measures for the organization of the referendum which had just been decided upon.

Later, I went to Nairobi for a second time, in order to take part in the first meeting of the Implementation Committee. Fully empowered, the meeting defined the means and ways, as well as the conditions likely to help bring about a true consultation of the inhabitants of the Sahara. Without any reservation or hesitation, I gave my consent to such means and ways and conditions.

The opponents of our territorial integrity then expressed fears as to the new phase which the Sahara question had just entered, convinced — as they still are — that the outcome of the referendum would not correspond with their special conception, since their scheme would be totally defeated by the consultation of the inhabitants of the Sahara. Consequently, they stood in the way, creating all sorts of obstacles and believing they could reach their goal by having an artificial entity admitted into the Organization of African Unity. Similarly, they imagined that, by pushing their allies to call for negotiations between Morocco and a group of mercenaries, and imposing them on Morocco, they could achieve one of their principal goals.

Once such an artificial entity imposed on the OAU, Morocco, in reaction to the violation of its Charter and the disregard for legality, withdrew from the Organization, preferring the adherence to the principles of legality ethics and moral values without which international relations would have no foundation.

Morocco has also systematically refused the direct negotiations its opponents have sought to impose, for it refuses, thereby, to help a handful of mercenaries without representativity to acquire the legitimacy and the credibility which they cannot achieve through the referendum.

M. Chairman,

M. Secretary General,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The inhabitants of the Western Sahara live a quiet and peaceful life in all parts of the region. Day after day, they witness the phases of progress and development their provinces go through, whether economically, socially or culturally. They are so happy with the positive transformation their region has known, as they feel an immense joy to see how their provinces participate, fully and without any restriction, in the Moroccan national life.

Having visited these provinces a few months ago, I have been deeply moved by the exceptionally impressive enthusiasm with which the inhabitants — old young, men and women — received me.

Foreign political observers following the phases of the event saw in this warm reception and enthusiasm a true referendum through which the inhabitants of the Sahara expressed their self determination by confirming their allegiance to the king of Morocco and their belonging to the land of Morocco.

Had it not been for the firm loyalty to the decision taken on the basis of a proposition I myself had made, and which I confirmed on a number of occasions — especially when I addressed this august Assembly — the overwhelming manifestation of love, devotion and faithfulness which, through Me, is addressed to the symbol I represent, would have led Me to consider it as the most eloquent expression of a political will no other form could likely supersede.

Today once more, I confirm, before you, the commitment to accept, on one hand, the organization of a self- determination

referendum in the western Sahara and, on the other hand, the result of such a referendum, whatever it may be.

I would further be happy to accept, before you, not one commitment, but two.

The first commitment relates to the cease-fire which Morocco has unilaterally decided to put into effect as of this very moment, and that it would call it off only in case of aggression against the territories under its responsibility in which case Morocco would exercise the right of legitimate self-defence. Morocco is even prepared to receive neutral observers wishing to verify, on the premises, the respect of such a cease-fire.

The second commitment relates to Morocco's predisposition and acceptance to hold, under the auspices and control of the United Nations, a referendum in the Sahara, and that in the early part of january 1986. The United Nations is naturally free to request, at any time, the assistance of any regional Organization likely to help in the realization of the process.

What most matters in relation to this false problem of the Sahara is to find a solution by the only efficient means likely to settle the litigation, once and for all, and put an end to any dispute. Such a means is the consultation of the inhabitants of the Sahara through a referendum.

If the United Nations undertakes this referendum process at the proposed date, it would make a gigantic step towards a substantial contribution to the advent of a better world.

The United Nations is celebrating its 40 th Anniversary today. Its creation has brought big hopes, after the years of darkness the world had been going through. In it, people of all tendencies and

continents have at last seen the most efficient and most appropriate instrument to serve peace, justice and stability.

Is there a better occasion than this 40th Anniversary for our Organization to prove to the world not only its unshakable dedication to those high ideals, but also, and more particularly, its firm determination to do all that is possible to bring about their realization through the most democratic and noblest way, namely that of the right of people to choose their own destiny freely?

Thank you very much for your
kind attention.

Mr Abdellatif Filali's Address before the 4th U.N. Commission

The minister of Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Information Abdellatif Filali reiterated Tuesday, November 5, 1985, before the Fourth United Nations Commission, Morocco's readiness to hold a self-rule referendum in the Sahara under the aegis of the UNO in collaboration with the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

After he dealt with stages preceding Morocco's retrieval of its Sahara, Abdellatif Filali precised that the inhabitants of these provinces peacefully live in their motherland and contribute to the promotion of its economic resources. He also recalled that the OAU itself does not recognize the « polissario » as a national liberation movement.

On the other hand, Mr Abdellatif Filali stressed that Morocco is by no means against direct negotiations in-so-far as they are held by the Kingdom of Morocco and Algeria, which has made proposals regarding the future of the Sahara.

The Sahara problem is a moroccan-algerian problem, the Minister said.

Here follows the full-text of the intervention of Mr Filali before the Fourth UN Commission :

Thank you Mister Chairman. I would like to start with an agreeable task and congratulate you for your appointment and election at the head of this commission. I am convinced that thanks to your talent, your experience and your competence, you will know how to orient our debates and make them yield positive results to the benefit of every one.

Mister Chairman, I shall confine my intervention to the problem

of what is known as the Western Sahara, solely. I am doing so because it is a matter of vital importance to my country. It has always interested Morocco since the archives of this commission testify that this problem was raised within this commission twenty three years ago for the first time by Morocco and Morocco alone.



**M. Abdellatif Filali, Minister of foreign Affairs,
Cooperation and Information**

I do not need, and I believe that no one does to relate here the episodes of the evolution of this problem. I shall limit myself, with your permission Mister Chairman, to briefly surveying its evolution since 1975.

Why 1975 ? For the mere reason that I have followed the debate since it started with great concern. I sometimes pick up useful pieces of information, futile most of the time, and outright lies sometimes. I followed it with interest for not only the credibility but also the reputation of a country, which for 25 years of its recent history has been among those who in Africa have been at the vanguard of the anti-colonial struggle, have been questioned.

I also do it because heavy charges are brought against Morocco, and I do it most sincerely before this commission.

I by no means intend to indulge in a sterile polemic and rouse passions during this debate - unfortunately, passions have been too often roused during the last decade - but to participate as much as possible in a constructive debate, making some necessary clarifications to enable this commission open, carry on and wind up its debate efficiently and above all help it reach positive conclusions in the search for peace.

Mister Chairman, Morocco was referred to yesterday as a colonial power. As to our presence in this territory, I simply say that in 1975, there were negotiations with the colonial power, Spain in this case. These negotiations resulted in the November 14, 1975 Madrid Accord. This accord was confirmed by a resolution of this very commission and was duly entered at the General Secretariat of the United Nations.

Indeed, Morocco is in this territory by virtue of an international valid juridical act. It did not go in as a conqueror but by virtue of this accord and by virtue of a UN resolution. We went there for we had the right to and because logical, legitimate and juridically valid conditions of our entry were accepted by the international community.

We also are in this territory for Morocco has always regarded the territory as an integral part of the national territory. We never made a secret of it. And here, in this same place, when we were competing or fighting Spain over the future of this territory, we have always said and confirmed that the territory was an integral part of Morocco.

We were also charged of being a colonial power and with oppressing the western Sahara people. Which people are we talking about ? The western Sahara population lives peacefully in this territory. I need not recall here that international media from all trends and television networks from all parts of the world roamed

this territory from North to South and from East to West. They saw a peacefully busy population promoting its economic resources. Evidence of the calm prevailing in this territory is the fact that the «Club Méditerranée » has built two large hotels for tourism, and most american movie- firms of ten shoot films there. Hence, I do not see how can anybody talk of a people oppressed by foreign occupation troops.

The second fact is that the presence of Morocco in this territory and its oppressing the so-called western Sahara people is somehow an incongruity. Indeed, if there is a western Sahara people, why then there is not a Central Sahara people and an Eastern Sahara people which are distinct from the countries they depend on ? Why is it that a specific case should be isolated in the western part of the Sahara to make of it a people with its originality, its own tradition and its sovereignty ?

I merely ask this question because, as I said a little ago, my intention is by no means to rouse a polemic on this problem.

The second observation I would like to make now concerns a so-called national liberation movement called the « polissario ». In this respect, I think I need not recall past things. The territory had been, as everyone knows, under Spanish rule. This commission tackled this subject and passed a resolution on this territory prior to 1975. And never, absolutely never, has this commission heard of a national liberation movement struggling against a power, which was a genuine colonial power it not only occupied this territory but also other parts of Morocco.

Hence, I am surprised that a great number of countries which just recently struggled for their freedom and independence, accept that this movement made up, created, sponsored and financed by a power for unavowed and certainly unavowable intentions, be brought out now.

Mister Chairman, we are told that Morocco should negotiate with this movement. Let us be serious. Within this commission and the organization, which gathers us all we need a minimum of earnest and a minimum of credibility.

Sincerely, to negotiate with the « polissario » is for Morocco an impossible thing to do. It is impossible for reasons of principles. The principle is that it has no legitimacy. The very legitimacy some wanted to grant it yesterday when they spoke of a movement which, is the sole and legitimate representative of the Saharan people. I am sorry to tell them today that Morocco refuses this designation. We refute it for reasons of principles. To us, legitimacy is acquired only through a referendum free of any constraint. It can only derive from the consultation of the population and not from the fact that a certain number of countries want to impose foreign elements, most of whom are strangers to this region. They are alien to this territory that their leaders and their parents have never known or been to.

And since we are talking about direct negotiations, allow me, Mr Chairman, to tell this commission that Morocco has never been against direct negotiations. It has always directly negotiated. Last year and this year again, Morocco had engaged in direct negotiations concerning the future of this territory. It held negotiations with the Algerian government, which always comes here to ask for support to a ghostly movement. And at the end of the debates of the commission; it hurries to call on Morocco to open direct negotiations.

From January till March, we had had weekly shuttles between Algiers and Rabat, and I had the honor to participate in these negotiations, and never had the Algerian officials talked to us about having contacts with the so-called « polissario ». They directly talked to us and made us propositions concerning the future of this territory and its future status. This to prove that the problem has never been one between the « polissario » and Morocco. It is, and I say it in all frankness and sincerity because it is high time we

clarified this problem and gave all information concerning it, it is a problem opposing Algeria and Morocco.

And our algerian friends know this so well that they, as I said earlier, made us concrete propositions concerning the future of this territory. I will not go as far as disclosing them here, but if the algerian delegation agrees, it will be my great pleasure to tell the honorable members of this commission of the algerian propositions concerning the future of this territory.

These are, Mr Chairman, facts that I had the right and the obligation to inform this commission about. Yes for direct negotiations, but with the major concerned party in this affair, namely Algeria. As to negotiations with puppets at the service of a foreign power, Morocco says and repeats ; « No ».

It is strange that some countries, the very countries which attempt to prove the existence of the « polissario front », go with two hats, a hat for the African forum where they speak of a « Saharan arab republic », which by the way is a republic the Arab World does not know of, and with another hat here in the United Nations, where we are told of a national liberation movement called the « polissario ».

This double-headedness is an odd thing for both the OAU and the UN fora, we have always dealt with movement of national liberation only. Besides, even with respect to the African forum the « polissario » is a national liberation movement which is not even recognized by its regional organization. You can go through the list of the national liberation movements, there is no reference to a liberation movement of the so-called Western Sahara.

Here, Mister Chairman, are some facts we absolutely had to unveil before this commission.

The second problem I am to deal with before this commission is

the stalemate the issue is in. We all around this table have, I believe, to face reality. For ten years, this commission and the General Assembly have been examining this problem, we voted resolutions. For ten years, the conflict existing between two neighbouring countries has been worsening. Why ? In our opinion this problem has always been considered from unrealistic bias. The General Assembly and this commission, I shall cite examples from the last two years only, passed resolutions, and today you are proposed an identical version of the resolution presented last year. To vote resolutions for the sake of resolutions does not unfortunately entail peace. The members of this commission must know what they want. Do we want to keep on voting resolutions so that some go out triumphantly with inefficient papers for they are unreal due to the fact that they do not meet the conflict's real conditions ? Or do we want to be resourceful and dynamic in order to view the problem from another perspective ?

In this affair, Morocco has since 1975 accepted and encouraged the search for peace through the Organization of African Unity. It did it sincerely for, as a founding member of the organization, it has always considered that local and regional conflicts would be better perceived and better mastered by the regional organization. Morocco did it because we have always thought that our African brothers, gathered in our regional organization, were better equipped and better armed to assume their good offices to appease the parties in conflict.

We steadfastly, courageously and magnanimously backed the OAU's initiatives. Surely, it was not easy, but we never barred the way to any initiative issued by the Organization of African Unity. Today, we say it all the more sincerely as we no longer are member of the organization. We walked out of the organization for reasons of principle, but I here acknowledge that for ten years the organization did a praiseworthy and positive work in spite of difficulties and antagonisms. The Organization of African Unity even achieved a feat of strength when it defined the modalities of holding the self-rule referendum.

It had written down all this in the decisions of the implementation committee it had set up. Besides, these decisions were distributed as working documents of the organization that every one of us should re-read. They are dealing with everything related to the self-determination referendum. They define the territory to be the framework of the referendum. They define the population which must take part in this referendum. They define the questions that must be posed to the population : reintegration to Morocco or independence. They even settle the problem that some have been dealing with here for some time, the problem of military forces and their cantonment. The only remaining thing, alas, was to set the date of this referendum.

All these decisions of the implementation committee have not come as a godsend. They have been made in common agreement and with the assistance of United Nations experts. We all knew that our regional organization had neither the material nor the human means to cope up with all the mechanisms of a referendary operation.

It has made it in cooperation with other organizations, with the United Nations Organization. This means that the only remaining thing was to set a date to implement these decisions, and appoint the supervisor who was also provided for in the decisions, and there is no need to recall the reasons for which some saw it fit to undermine the implementation of these decisions by admitting, a first time, the « saharawi arab republic » within the OAU. This also split up the regional organization and froze its activities for two years. The OAU, out of weariness finally accepted this juridical monster at the detriment of its own principles and charter.

This is, Mr Chairman, the deadlock, I sincerely regret having to say it to our african brothers, the deadlock the OAU has ended into. On the one hand, it accepted a new member state, and on the other, it requests here the implementation of self-determination principles.

This is utterly illogical. You cannot accept a republic on the one hand, i.e. self-determine the people of the western Sahara, and come here, as I said earlier, under the hat of a national liberation movement, request the self-determination of this people of the western Sahara, on the other. I think, Mr Chairman, that Morocco's stand is very clear, that this stand is logical and consistent. We deem that the OAU, by admitting the « sahraoui arab republic » can no longer avail itself for organizing the referendum or definitely settling this problem. The peace plan, called african peace plan, is a surrealist plan. It no longer corresponds to the evolution of facts. It no longer corresponds to the very situation within the OAU.

Therefore, to come here today to table a new draft resolution, which is, as I said, nothing else than the draft resolution of last year, would worsen the situation, and aggravate the stale mate. I think it is neither in the interest of Africa nor in that of the United Nations to freeze the problem in this deadlock, on the contrary, we should rather explore the possibilities and conditions whereby we can engage in the path of peace. We can effectively do so, because what are we looking for after all ? We have been repeating since 1975, and our adversaries were the first to do so, that the settlement of the problem lies in the organizing of a referendum for the self-determination of the people of the western Sahara.

Morocco has made this wish its own. We were told that this wish was shared by the international community. We accepted it. H.M. King Hassan II went to Nairobi himself. He solemnly declared that Morocco was proposing the organizing of a self-determination referendum in the territory. He came here in 1983 and confirmed this proposal before the General Assembly declaring that Morocco committed itself to abide by the results of the referendum whatever they prove to be.

Today, to us the problem is a simple one. It is only a matter of implementing a principle which is at the basis of the 14-15 United

Nations Resolution whose 25th Anniversary is celebrated this year. I do not think that a single delegation here - I heard several delegations exchange congratulations on the occasion of this 25th Anniversary-would refuse to enforce the self-rule right of the people of the western Sahara. I do not think that there is a single delegation here which would oppose the organizing of a free referendum, with all the required guarantees, to enable population of these territories to freely pronounce itself on its future.

We think that the only means to do so today, given the deadlock the Organization of African Unity is in, would be the recourse to the United Nations Organizations. We genuinely think so for the following reasons :

1 - the United Nations Organization has already organized, in similar cases, self-determination referendum in territories, some of which are today among us as independent states, and we cannot but congratulate ourselves for that,

2 - the United Nations Organization constitutes the forum gathering the international community ;

3 - we can no longer speak of an african peace plan stemming from the OAU as the main interested country by the settlement of the issue, namely Morocco, is no longer member of this organization.

I think this commission should consider fact with realism, it is not question of imposing solutions, for unfortunately, you do not impose solutions. It is question of considering the best way, the best mechanism to put an end to the deadock, and Morocco deems the United Nations Organization can provide this mechanism. It provides it, as I said, through its exprience. It provides it through its Secretary General who enjoys, I think, the trust of all. We will be told that the OAU had to deal with this problem, of course the OAU had to deal with the issue, of course Morocco ; even while it

is no longer member of this organization and while deploring the deadlock the organization is in, does not reject cooperation with the Organization of African Unity. We have not come here with a spirit of revenge nor a spirit of grudge. We have not come here to try the OAU let alone to humiliate this organization. Morocco is an african country. Morocco has always been an african, it is african, and it will remain so.

It is common knowledge that it was with deep sorrow that it was compelled to leave the OAU. And I repeat it again, Morocco keeps its african roots and continues to have the best possible bilateral relations with every african country. It is for these reasons that it does not reject, on the contrary, the OUA's cooperation with the United Nations Secretary General with a view to reaching a final and peaceful settlement of the conflict.

We do so and we accept (this cooperation) even more willingly that, as I said earlier, the OAU had made a very useful work that the U.N. Secretary General can still take into account. I say so even more willingly that Morocco considers the acting chairman of the Organization of African Unity, namely President Abdou Diouf of Senegal as the president of a country with which Morocco has had for centuries, very close relations. President Abdou Diouf enjoys all our esteem and trust.

The Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity comes from a region not very far from ours. He knows surely better the problems shaking the Maghreb.

We want peace. We should consider this problem with new eyes. Morocco, when addressing this commission today, is not looking for polemics nor is it trying to take revenge, it is looking for peace. The search of this peace is surely difficult but so necessary to the stability and development of our region.

I am convinced that this commission, given the ten-year stalemate, given the resentments that accumulated on one side and the other, given the passions that were also exacerbated by the public opinions of the ones and the others, will find the path of wisdom, the path of equity, to look for a solution which will enable the General Assembly to get out of the deadend, which will enable the U.N. Secretary General and the OAU acting Chairman take in charge, like pilgrims of peace, this conflict and this problem, to lead it to a happy ending. I am convinced that neither the secretary general nor those who will be called to collaborate with him will spare any effort to reach the solution everybody is wishing for.

As far as we are concerned, I repeat it once again, Mr Chairman, delegates, Morocco accepts any peace initiative but it simply rejects diktats. We accept any peace initiative, because the interest of our region is at stake, because of geographical reasons. Morocco and Algeria are two neighbouring-countries, bound by ties of history, religion, and common struggle. They are called, whether they wish to or not, to live together. Therefore, it is up to this commission to help them get over this step and overcome the obstacles, I hope to be temporary, which are dividing them.

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Série « Les Carnets du Sahara»
Publication du Ministère de la Communication
à l'occasion du 40ème Anniversaire de la Marche Verte
Novembre 2015

- Publications du Ministère de la Communication
- DEPOT LEGAL: 2015MO3529
- ISBN : 978-9954-458-75-4
- Année: 2015
- Av. Allal El Fassi, Madinate Al Irfane, Rabat
- www.mincom.gov.ma